

Message Text

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46

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 EA-11 ISO-00 SAJ-01 NIC-01 OMB-01 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 EB-11 IO-14 ACDA-19

NEA-10 DRC-01 /169 W

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R 270628Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8111

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

USMISSION BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USINT PEKING

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, RO, UR, XH

SUBJECT: ROMANIANS CONTINUE TO ASSERT THEIR OWN LINE ON
WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND DETENTE

REF: BUCHAREST 0970

1. SUMMARY. IN PRELUDE TO CURRENT PARTY PLENUM, TWO MORE
SALLIES (ONE BY CEAUSESCU) IN ROMANIAN PUBLIC COUNTEROFFENSIVE
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AGAINST SOVIET PRESSURES IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT LAUNCHED BY
PARTY SECRETARY BURTICA (REFTEL) HAVE REASSERTED ROMANIA'S

INDEPENDENT LINE ON HANDLING DETENTE AND RCP OPPOSITION TO ANY WORLD COMMUNIST CONFERENCE (WCC) CONVENED ON CURRENT SOVIET TERMS. CEAUSESCU ALSO RETURNED TO BALKAN COOPERATION IDEA BY POSSIBILITY OF NEW REGIONAL GROUPING IN EUROPE COMPRISED OF DANUBIAN-SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN STATES. END SUMMARY.

2. LIKE BURTICA'S EARLIER ARTICLE, SCINTEIA MARCH 26 EDITORIAL SIGNED BY "ION FINTINARU" ARGUES THAT EXCESSIVE EMPHASIS ON DANGERS OF BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA IS WRONG IN VIEW OF SHIFT IN WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES IN FAVOR OF "SOCIALIST AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES". ALTHOUGH "NOXIOUS" NATURE OF WESTERN IDEAS SHOULD NEVER BE UNDERESTIMATED OR NEGLECTED, OTHER "RETROGRADE" IDEAS ALSO MUST BE COMBATTED, INCLUDING "CHAUVINISM AND HEGEMONISM" (READ: SOVIET PRESSURES).

3. WHILE MAINTAINING THAT OPPOSING IDEOLOGIES CANNOT BE RECONCILED, ARTICLE ARGUES THAT WHAT NOW IS REQUIRED IS "UNITY" (BOLDFACE TYPE AND ALL CAPITALS, A HIGHLY UNUSUAL FORM) OF COMMUNIST AND PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS TO MEET CONDITIONS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" BY RALLYING "SOCIAL CIRCLES AND PERSONALITIES OF THE MOST DIVERSE CONVICTIONS AND POLITICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, AND RELIGIOUS ORIENTATIONS". EDITORIAL STRONGLY IMPLIES THAT ANY PARTY (READ: CPSU) WHICH SPLITS MOVEMENT COMMITS CARDINAL SIN OF POSTPONING ULTIMATE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM. REFERENCE TO ROLE OF "14 STATES WHERE SOCIALISM HAS TRIUMPHED" IS ADDITIONAL PROP FOR MAO'S COMMUNIST CREDENTIALS.

4. CEAUSESCU'S INTERVIEW WITH DIE PRESSE OF VIENNA (SCINTEIA, MARCH 23) GIVES STILL MORE SPECIFIC FORMULATION ON WORLD CP CONFERENCE, EMPHASIZING THAT (A) IT SHOULD "SERVE DEVELOPMENT OF EVERY COUNTRY, EVERY PARTY," (B) NOTHING SHOULD BE DONE THAT AFFECTS AUTONOMY AND INDEPENDENCE OF ANY PARTY, (C) POLICIES OF OTHER PARTIES SHOULD NOT EVEN BE DISCUSSED. ERECTING MORE BARRICADES, CEAUSESCU STATES THAT ONLY AFTER A STAGE WHERE DIVERSE OPINIONS OF CP'S ARE EXCHANGED AND A "CERTAIN GENERAL CONCLUSION" IS ACHIEVED CAN ACTUAL PREPARATIONS FOR A CONFERENCE BE UNDERTAKEN. CEAUSESCU LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ASSERTS THAT FINAL DRAFT DOCUMENT SHOULD BE AGREED BY ALL PARTIES AND "IN NO CASE BE MADE OBLIGATORY FOR ANY (PARTY) (EXCLAMATION POINT)." FRESHLY EBULLIENT NATIONALISTIC FLAVOR OF CEAUSESCU'S REMARKS IS UNDERLINED BY HIS EXPANSION ON AND REINTERPRETATION OF ROMANIAN SAYING QUOTED BY INTERVIEWER, "THE HEAD THAT BOWS IS NOT CUT OFF BY THE SWORD", TO MEAN THAT IF ONE WANTS TO REMAIN FREE, HE MUST NOT BOW HIS HEAD.

5. PLUMPING FOR CLOSER COLLABORATION AMONG "DANUBIAN-

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPEAN" STATES, CEAUSESCU ASSERTS THAT WHILE HE IS NOT "NECESSARILY" THINKING ABOUT CREATION OF NEW ORGANIZATION, THERE WAS NEVERTHELESS ROOM FOR "BETTER DEFINED" COLLABORATION IN AREA.

6. COMMENT: FOLLOWING BURTICA'S ARTICLE (REFTEL), ABOVE PRE-PLENUM PRONOUNCEMENTS ARE FURTHER EVIDENCE THAT NOT ONLY IS ROMANIAN RESISTANCE TO SOVIET IDEOLOGICAL VIEWS STEADFAST AND BECOMING MORE OUTSPOKEN BUT OUTLINES OF A VIRTUAL COMPETITIVE WORLD COMMUNIST PROGRAM ARE EMERGING FOR WHICH ROMANIA CAN CHOOSE CONSTRUCTIVELY TO ELICIT SUPPORT RATHER THAN SIMPLY NEGATIVELY FENDING OFF SOVIET PROPOSALS. IN RELATED CONTEXT, IDEA OF DANUBIAN-SOUTHEAST EUROPE GROUPING (WHICH TO OUR KNOWLEDGE CEAUSESCU HAS NOT SPECIFICALLY VOICED BEFORE) SEEMS TO BE VARIANT OF LONG-STANDING BALKAN COOPERATION SCHEME, WHICH, HOWEVER COUCHED, SEEMS HARDLY CALCULATED TO SERVE SOVIET INTERESTS, NOTWITHSTANDING CEAUSESCU'S CAVEAT IN INTERVIEW THAT NEW GROUPING WOULD "BE DIRECTED AT NO ONE".
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